

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MADRID 04537 01 OF 02 142003Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
ACDA-07 TRSE-00 OMB-01 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00
INRE-00 /060 W
-----142143Z 067201 /73

O R 141842Z JUN 77
FM AMEMBASSY MADRID
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 637
INFO AMEMBASSY LISBON

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MADRID 4537

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT SP
SUBJECT: LATEST POLL DATA VARY WIDELY

REF: MADRID 4478

SUMMARY: OF FOUR RECENT AND CONFUSING AND TECHNICALLY IMPERFECT
POLLS, INCLUDING THE GOVT'S OWN PRIVATE POLL GIVEN TO US ON A
CONFIDENTIAL BASIS WITH THE EXPECTATION THAT IT WOULD REMAIN
CONFIDENTIAL, THREE, INCLUDING THE GOVT'S POLL, SHOW THE UCD
WITH A WILDLY VARYING BUT CLEAR LEAD, WHILE ONE EVEN HAS THE SOCIALIST

PSOE SLIGHTLY IN FRONT. TWO OF THEM, INCLUDING THE GOVT'S, SUGGEST
THE UCD WILL BE AT OR VERY CLOSE TO THE 150 SEAT LEVEL
(43PERCENT OF THE SEATS), WITH THE PSOE NEAR OR SLIGHTLY ABOVE THE
100 SEAT MARK (ANYWHERE FROM 91 TO 105 SEATS -- 26-30PERCENT).
A THIRD POLL SHOWS THE BREAKDOWN AT 141 SEATS FOR UCD (40PERCENT) AND
121 FOR THE PSOE (35PERCENT). THAT MOST DUBIOUS FOURTH POLL DOES
NOT DISTRIBUTE SEATS BUT CLAIMS THE PSOE HAS 29PERCENT OF THE VOTE
TO UCD'S 27PERCENT, ARGUING FOR A MANO A MANO ON SEATS DEPENDING
ON THE WORKINGS OF THE D'HONDT SYSTEM IN EACH PROVINCE. IN FACT,
THE NUMBER OF STILL UNDECIDED (OR WON'T TELL) VOTERS
RENDERS SCIENTIFIC PREDICTION IMPOSSIBLE. NONE OF THE POLLS
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MADRID 04537 01 OF 02 142003Z

TOOK PLACE AFTER LAST NIGHT'S TV PRESENTATION, IN WHICH BOTH
SUAREZ AND GONZALEZ ACQUITTED THEMSELVES WELL AND THE REST
OF THE SEVEN NATION-WIDE SLATES HAD PRESENTATIONS RANGING FROM
MEDICORE TO AWFUL. END SUMMARY.

1. THE GOVT'S CHIEF POLLSTER GAVE US THE FINAL RESULTS
OF THEIR THIRD STAGE POLL (REFTEL) JUNE 13. CURIOUSLY THEY

DIVIDED UP THEIR HUGE SAMPLE OF 30,000 EQUALLY AMONG THE 50 PROVINCES, REGARDLESS OF SIZE. THEY ENCOUNTERED LARGE NUMBER OF UNDECIDED IN MANY PROVINCES, OFTEN HITTING AND OCCASIONALLY SURPASSING THE 50PERCENT LEVEL. USING A DUBIOUS STRAIGHT LINE HYPOTHESIS TO DISTRIBUTE THE VOTE BY PROVINCE, THEY CAME UP WITH A RANGE OF 140 SEATS FOR THE UCD AND 122 FOR THE PSOE. USING AN ATTITUDE SCHALE FOR UNDECIDED VOTERS UNDER ANOTHER HYPOTHESIS, THEY CAME UP WITH THE FOLLOWING:

- UCD: 149 (42PERCENT)
- PSOE: 105 (30PERCENT)
- AP: 38 (11PERCENT)
- PCE: 17 (4PERCENT)
- ASSORTED CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS: 16 (5PERCENT)
- PSP/FPS: (TIERNO): 6 (2PERCENT)
- PACTE CATALUNYA (PUJOL: 13 (4PERCENT).

2. HE RECOGNIZED THAT WHILE DISTRIBUTING UNDECIDED VOTES ACCORDING TO AN ATTITUDE SCALE WAS FAR BETTER THAN A STRAIGHT LINE PROJECTION, NONETHELESS IT DID NOT ASSURE CLOSE RESULTS. HE FELT THAT SUAREZ' INTERVENTION COULD BE HELPFUL AND THAT THE UCD MIGHT WELL CLIMB OVER THE 150 SEAT LINE (THOUGH STILL WELL SHORT OF THE 176 NEEDED FOR AN ABSOLUTE MAJORITY).

3. IN CONTRAST TO THE RESULTS OBTAINED BY THE POLL COMMISSIONED BY THE GOVT (AND TO THE RESULTS OF TWO OTHER POLLS CONSIDERED HERE BELOW), A SOUNDING TAKEN BY ICSA-GALLUP OVER WEEKEND AND BASED ON A SAMPLE OF 1100 SHOWS THE PSOE OUT IN CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MADRID 04537 01 OF 02 142003Z

FRONT. THE FIGURES FOR THE MAJOR POLITICAL GROUPS ARE:

- PSOE: 28.9 PERCENT
- UCD: 25.6 PERCENT
- PCE: 5.8 PERCENT
- AP: 5.7 PERCENT
- PSP/FPS (TIERNO): 4.8 PERCENT
- CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC "EQUIPO": ROUGHLY 5-6 PERCENT
- UNDECIDED: 11 PERCENT

4. THIS SIMPLY DOES NOT AGREE WITH THE CONSENSUS AMONG ALL OTHER POLLS TO DATE AND AMONG POLITICAL OBSERVERS OF ALL PARTIES THAT SUAREZ' UCD WILL HAVE A PLURALITY, WITH HOW LARGE A LEAD OVER THE PSOE THE QUESTION.

5. ACCORDING TO A THIRD POLL, THIS ONE COMMISSIONED BY EUROPA PRESS NEWS AGENCY AND PUBLISHED JUNE 12 IN ALL MAJOR MADRID DAILIES, 81.4PERCENT OF THOSE WHO INDICATED THEY INTENDED TO VOTE ALSO WERE ABLE TO ARTICULATE A POLITICAL PREFERENCE. THE

POLITICAL "TENDENCIES" OF THE REMAINING 18.6PERCENT, EITHER UNABLE OR UNWILLING TO ARTICULATE A PREFERENCE, WERE THEN DETERMINED THROUGH THE USE OF QUESTIONS DESIGNED TO PROBE GENERAL POLITICAL PROCLIVITY AND A STUDY OF THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THOSE MAKING UP THIS 18.6PERCENT (E.G., LEVEL OF POLITICAL AWARENESS, ECONOMIC POSITION, RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE, REGIONALIST SENTIMENT, ETC.); CONSEQUENTLY, RESULTS SUMMARIZED BELOW DISTRIBUTE HYPOTHETICALLY THE UNDECIDEDS.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MADRID 04537 02 OF 02 142132Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
ACDA-07 TRSE-00 OMB-01 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00
INRE-00 /060 W

-----142143Z 068298 /73

O R 141842Z JUN 77
FM AMEMBASSY MADRID
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 638
INFO AMEMBASSY LISBON

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MADRID 4537

6. BECAUSE THERE ARE 52 SEPARATE ELECTORAL DISTRICTS (THE 50 PROVINCES PLUS THE PRESIDIOS OF CEUTA AND MELILLA), THE EUROPA PRESS POLL, AFTER PROVIDING AN ESTIMATE OF EACH GROUP'S LIKELY NATION-WIDE SHARE OF THE VOTE, THEN TAKES THE SENSIBLE APPROACH OF TRANSLATING THESE OUTCOMES INTO "MINIMUM," "MAXIMUM," AND "PROBABLE" NUMBERS OF SEATS FOR EACH. THE RESULTS OF THE POLL FOR THE MAJOR GROUPING FOLLOW:

PARTY/COALITION	PERCENT VOTES	PERCENT SEATS	MIN/MAX SEATS	PROBABLE SEATS	PERCENT
UCD	29.99	130/153	147	42.00	
PSOE	20.69	81/99	91	26.00	
AP	11.29	42/58	46	13.14	
CHRISTIAN DEMO-					
CRATS (EQUIPO)	8.50	18/37	24	6.84	
PCE	7.16	14/20	14	4.00	
PSP/FPS (TIERNO)	6.25	10/17	14	4.00	
PDC (PUJOL)	2.34	6/10	7	2.00	

7. THE LAST POLL, WHICH WAS CARRIED OUT BY A LOCAL FIRM ASSOCIATED WITH A RESPECTED FRENCH POLLING ORGANIZATION AND PUBLISHED IN MADRID'S "EL PAIS" JUNE 12, WAS CONDUCTED
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MADRID 04537 02 OF 02 142132Z

MORE RECENTLY THAN THE EUROPA PRESS SOUNDING (JUNE 6-8), PURPORTEDLY UTILIZED A SAMPLE OF OVER 15,000 SPREAD OVER 900 SEPARATE POPULATION CENTERS AROUND THE COUNTRY, AND CLAIMS (WITHOUT SUPPORTING EVIDENCE) A LIMIT OF ERROR OF PLUS OR MINUS 0.8 PERCENT NATION-WIDE. IN THIS POLL, 91.7PERCENT OF THOSE INTERVIEWED EXPRESSED THE INTENTION TO VOTE, OF WHICH 38.5PERCENT WERE UNABLE OR UNWILLING TO ARTICULATE A SPECIFIC VOTING PREFERENCE. USING METHODS SIMILAR TO THOSE EMPLOYED IN THE EUROPA PRESS SAMPLING, THE POLLSTERS WERE THEN ABLE TO REDUCE THE NUMBER OF THOSE NOT EXPRESSING A PREFERENCE TO ONLY 11.2PERCENT.

8. WE CAUTION, HOWEVER, THAT THIS POLL IN PARTICULAR MAY NOT HAVE BEEN CONDUCTED AND ANALYZED AS THOROUGHLY AS IT SHOULD HAVE BEEN BY THE COMMISSIONED FIRM.

-- OUR GOS INTERLOCUTOR, WHO HAD EARLIER CONTRACTED THE FIRM IN QUESTION, TOLD EMBOFF BEFORE THE RESULTS WERE PUBLISHED THAT THEY SHOULD BE VIEWED WITH PARTICULAR CAUTION, AS THE FIRM'S LIMITED RESOURCES WERE SPREAD PERILOUSLY THIN, AND HE ASSUMED THEY WOULD HAVE TO FUDGE BOTH RESULTS AND CALCULATIONS GIVEN THE SHORT TIME FRAME.

-- WE NOT THE EXISTENCE OF METHODOLOGICAL ERROR IN THE REGION OF GALICIA WHICH MIGHT HAVE BEEN REPEATED ELSEWHERE. THEY ASKED ABOUT A PARTY THAT WAS NOT RUNNING AND NOT ABOUT ONE THAT HAS A MODEST CHANCE FOR A SEAT OR TWO.

-- FINALLY, IN A NUMBER OF PROVINCES, VERY FEW VOTES MAY DETERMINE WHETHER A FINAL SEAT, FOR INSTANCE, GOES TO THE PSOE OR TO FRAGA'S ALIANZA POPULAR. BUT THE POLL RATHER CONSISTENTLY ACCORDS THE PSOE 3 SEATS WITH IT MIGHT GARNER JUST 2, OR 2 WHEN IT MIGHT COME UP WITH 1. IT ALSO SEEMS TO GIVE THE COMMUNISTS THE BENEFIT OF THE DOUBT, ASSIGNING THEM 1 SEAT IN A NUMBER OF ZERO-SUM PROVINCES WHERE THEY MIGHT BE SHUT OUT. IN NUMEROUS CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN EMBOFFS AND NORMALLY ENTHUSIASTIC PSOE CANDIDATES AND CAMPAIGN MANAGERS AROUND THE COUNTRY, THEY HAVE TENDED TO SEE
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MADRID 04537 02 OF 02 142132Z

THEIR SEAT COUNT MORE ALONG THE LINES OF THE EUROPA PRESS POLL THAN THOSE OF "EL PAIS" BELOW:

PARTY/COALITION	PERCENT VOTES	PERCENT SEATS	PERCENT SEATS	NUMBER
UCD	30.2	40.3	141	
PSOE	24.0	34.6	121	
PCE	7.2	8.0	28	
AP	8.2	7.1	25	
PSP/FPS (TIERNO)	4.8	3.1	11	
CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS (EQUIPO)	3.2	2.5	9	
PDC (PUJOL)	1.3	2.8	10	

9. COMMENT: WE HAVE REPORTED THE FOUR POLLS IN ORDER TO PROVIDE AN INDEX OF THE CONFUSION AND A QUALITATIVE FEEL FOR THE LIKELY ORDER OF FINISH, WHILE AT THE SAME DEMONSTRATING THE DEPTH OF UNCERTAINTY ABOUT THE PRECISE OUTCOME AND THE SHORTCOMINGS WHICH ALL POLLS HERE TEND TO POSSESS. DESPITE THE GALLUP POLL, ALONE IN ITS ESTIMATE, WE JUDGE THAT THE SUAREZ UCD WILL REMAIN AHEAD OF THE PSOE, WHICH WILL RUN A STRONG SECOND, BUT THE RELATIVE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE TWO GROUPINGS REMAINS UNCERTAIN. THE RELATIVE SHARES OF THE OTHER PARTIES, NONE OF WHOM (INCLUDING AP), WILL DO WELL IN COMPARISON WITH THE TWO FRONT-RUNNERS, ALSO REMAIN VERY MUCH IN QUESTION (WE NOTE THAT, IN THE FACT OF THE PSOE'S CONTINUING SURGE, AP MAY ACTUALLY LOSE GROUND AS CONSERVATIVE VOTERS SWITCH TO SUAREZ' UCD IN ORDER TO "MAKE THEIR VOTES COUNT"). THE D'HONDT SYSTEM, COMPLICATED EVEN FURTHER BY THE EXISTENCE OF MANY SMALL ELECTORAL DISTRICTS, AND THE CONTINUING NUMBER OF UNDECIDED VOTERS LEAVE THE FATE OF MANY SEATS IN THE BALANCE. STABLER

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: DATA, PUBLIC OPINION POLLS, PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 14-Jun-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977MADRID04537
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770212-0761
Format: TEL
From: MADRID
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770660/aaaacabd.tel
Line Count: 254
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: ec9bc97d-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 MADRID 4478
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 25-Jan-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2163514
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: LATEST POLL DATA VARY WIDELY
TAGS: PINT, SP
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/ec9bc97d-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009